

June 14, 1965

After the French suffered 250,000 casualties in Indochina, the French people made clear to the French Government that they rejected that Government and that Government fell, just as this Government is going to fall if it becomes responsible for leading the country into a third world war.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD another article from this morning's New York Times entitled "Religious Issues Revived in Saigon—Buddhists and Catholics Vie for Power in New Regime," written by Seymour Topping.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MONDALE in the chair). Is there objection?

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RELIGIOUS ISSUES REVIVED IN SAIGON—BUDDHISTS AND CATHOLICS VIE FOR POWER IN NEW REGIME

(By Seymour Topping)

SAIGON, SOUTH VIETNAM, June 13.—A new struggle for political influence developed today between militant Roman Catholic and Buddhist factions as military leaders sought to form a government.

Maj. Gen. Nguyen Van Thieu, acting as spokesman for the military leaders who took control of the Government yesterday promised the nation a war government dedicated to unity, discipline, and victory over the Vietcong.

His declaration, delivered in a broadcast, failed to dispel the malaise taking hold of the capital.

A new "political action committee," headed by the Catholic leaders whose pressure led to the resignation of Premier Phan Huy Quat, declared that it would fight any "religious monopoly." It also called for the establishment of a strong government, military or civilian, that would prosecute the war against the Communists vigorously.

In a warning to the military leaders, the committee said the Catholics would not tolerate any government that showed favoritism to the political militant Unified Buddhist Church.

The Catholics were joined in their declaration by the Cao Dai and Hoa Hao sects and by southern Buddhists of the Vietnamese General Buddhist Church.

Militant Catholics, led by Rev. Hoang Quynh, take the position that they have attained only the initial objective of their program by toppling the Quat government.

Premier Quat had been accused of a multiplicity of offenses, including favoritism to Buddhists, discrimination against Catholics, and failure to press the war against the Vietcong.

SOME CHARGES VAGUE

The vagueness of some of the charges recalled the ones leveled by Buddhists against former Premier Tran Van Huong, who was unseated January 27. An interim period of military control followed until 4 months ago, when Mr. Quat became Premier.

As their next objective, Father Quynh and his organization, the Central Movement of the Catholic struggle, want to see the installation of a government sympathetic to their objectives. The organization is demanding a government that will assure the country's 1.7 million Catholics a voice equal in all respects to that of the larger number of Buddhists. Catholics make up about 10 percent of the population.

In the political consultations among military leaders, Catholics are trying to avert any

bid for power by a group of young officers who are regarded as linked to Thich Tri Quang, controversial leader of the United Buddhist Church.

The officers are Brig. Gen. Nguyen Chanh Thi, commander of the army's I Corps area, Air Vice Marshal Nguyen Cao Ky, commander of the air force and Lt. Col. Pham Van Lieu, the Saigon police chief.

MILITARY DOMINANCE SEEN

The setup of Saigon's new government is expected to be one that will assure military dominance for a period.

U.S. officials have voiced hope that General Thieu, a Roman Catholic from central Vietnam who served as Defense Minister under Premier Quat, will be selected to head the new administration.

The 42-year-old general is regarded as a moderate who might be acceptable to all factions.

The Catholics are prepared to back him because of his religion, and the Buddhists are believed willing to accept him tentative since real power would reside in the young officers who command troops and who are sympathetic to them.

The Catholics say they are prepared for trouble, however, should the Buddhists come into the ascendancy.

Within the last year, under the leadership of Father Quynh, a priest in his later fifties with a long record of anti-Communist struggle, the Catholic movement has been strengthened for direct action: Catholics have been organized into self-defense units in many parishes throughout the country.

PAGODA INFILTRATION

In 116 parishes in the Saigon area, youths are well organized, some with primitive weapons.

Father Quynh's organization has asserted that its agents have infiltrated the Saigon headquarters of the Unified Buddhist Church. They charge that the church, under Thich Tri Quang's influence, leans toward neutralism and may be willing to deal with the Communists.

Much of the Catholics' fear of a Vietcong takeover in South Vietnam is due to their harsh experience with Communists.

ABOUT 600,000 FLED IN 1954

About 600,000 of them fled to South Vietnam after the Geneva agreement of 1954, which accepted Communist control over the north. About half a million Catholics remain in the north, and many are prevented by the Communists from leaving, according to Catholics in the south.

Early in 1964, after the downfall and execution of President Ngo Dinh Diem, who was a Catholic, Catholic communities in central Vietnam came under attack, and about 17,000 Catholics became refugees. Catholics maintain that some Buddhists cooperated with the Vietcong guerrillas in repressing Catholics in central Vietnam.

The Central Movement of Catholic Struggle was formed June 7, 1964. It is a loosely organized group that gives parish priests a great deal of autonomy. Bishops and Vatican representatives have remained aloof from the political activities of the movement but have also quietly worked for it.

The movement's central committee publishes a biweekly newspaper, Greater Unity with a circulation of 60,000—larger than that of any similar publication in the country.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I have spoken on this topic a considerable number of times on the floor of the Senate. It is one of those subjects that most people do not like to hear discussed, but let me make the record clear again that

we cannot exclude from the war in South Vietnam the religious issue. I happen to be one who believes that we cannot justify killing a single American boy in a war that has involved in it as one of the major issues the religious question. Let the South Vietnamese settle their own religious differences. Let the Buddhists and Catholics settle their own religious differences in South Vietnam. Here is one Senator who is not going to vote to kill a single American boy in South Vietnam over a civil war that involves in part a conflict between Catholics and Buddhists.

SANTO DOMINGO

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I also ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD another article appearing in this morning's New York Times, entitled "U.S. Aid Gloomy on OAS Mission—Vaughn Says Three-Man Team in Santo Domingo Has Made Little Progress," written by Richard Eder.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

U.S. AID GLOOMY ON OAS MISSION—VAUGHN SAYS THREE-MAN TEAM IN SANTO DOMINGO HAS MADE LITTLE PROGRESS

(By Richard Eder)

WASHINGTON, June 13.—A State Department official said today that the three-man mission of the Chief Organization of American States in the Dominican Republic had made little progress toward a political solution there.

In one of the gloomiest public assessments to date by an administration figure, Jack Hood Vaughn, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, said that after 10 days of talks between the mission's members and the rival Dominican groups "We apparently aren't much closer to a coalition arrangement than we were when they arrived."

Mr. Vaughn added:

"It is going to take a long time to reach an understanding and perhaps even after an understanding is reached, it is going to be even more difficult to force it upon the Dominican people, which I think is going to be the last and perhaps the most difficult hurdle that we have to contend with."

CHANNEL FOR U.S. EFFORT

Reached by telephone later, Mr. Vaughn stressed that the lack of progress so far was a result of the complexity of the Dominican situation. "I believe that the Bunker mission is just getting started," he said.

The members of the mission are Ellsworth Bunker, of the United States, Ramon de Clairmont Duenes, of El Salvador, and Ilmar Penna Marinho of Brazil.

Although the peace mission was sent by the OAS, it also represented the major vehicle for U.S. diplomatic efforts to settle the Dominican crisis.

Officials here have been concerned over the last week about the mission's lack of progress. One official said that neither the junta nor the rebels appeared to feel under pressure to make concessions.

The rebels, led by Col. Francisco Caamano Dene, insist on a return to the 1963 constitution and a provisional government to serve out the remainder of the term of Juan Bosch, who was deposed from the Presidency in 1963.

The junta, headed by Brig. Gen. Antonio Imbert Barrera, insists on discarding this Constitution, which contains controversial provisions on education and control of subversive activities, in favor of a Constitution drawn up in 1962.

The two sides also disagree about the makeup of any provisional government and about the leadership of the armed forces.

Mr. Vaughn, who was interviewed on the American Broadcasting Co. television program "Issues and Answers," said that Dominican Communists were still active on the side of the rebels although some, he said, had left the rebel zone and moved into the interior. Some Communist leaders were still providing advice to the rebel leadership, he said, and others were commanding rebel military groups.

He expressed the belief that neither General Imbert nor Colonel Caamaño had overwhelming popular support. He indicated that the United States would be reluctant to see either prevail.

BOTH SIDES ODRURATE (By Juan de Onís)

SANTO DOMINGO, DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, June 13.—The United States is being frustrated in its search for a political settlement by the intransigence of the rival factions and its own inhibitions.

After 7 weeks of bloodshed, fear, and economic disruption, the Dominican crisis has settled into what appears to be an endurance contest between the junta and the rebels, with the United States in between to prevent any decisive new fighting.

"We don't want to impose a solution," said a U.S. official here. "We want the Dominicans to work out a settlement, with our help, that reflects national opinion."

Diplomatic observers believe that a protracted period of negotiations, subject to many pitfalls, lies ahead. One pitfall could be an outbreak of rebel action in the interior.

As these negotiations go forward under OAS auspices, the will, endurance, and cohesion of both factions will be tested. In the meantime, enforcement of the cease-fire will require the continuing presence here of U.S. military elements in the inter-American peace force, since little further support from Latin American countries is expected.

This is a prospect that does not please the 7,500 men of the U.S. 82d Airborne Division, who remain in the force manning the international zone in Santo Domingo and the security corridor dividing the city and separating the factions.

After more than 40 days here, the U.S. forces often reply with an affirmative "SI, SI" when a Dominican shouts "Yankee, go home."

Patience is the long suit of Ellsworth Bunker. The U.S. member of the OAS mission, who is 71 years old, devoted 7 months to the negotiations ending hostilities between Indonesia and the Netherlands over western New Guinea.

Mr. Bunker insists that the United States does not have a readymade formula for a settlement and he even refuses to "think out loud" about a formula at this time.

The mediators' exploratory talks with both factions and scores of civic leaders, businessmen, clergymen, and representatives of professional and labor groups have revealed that public opinion is deeply split.

There are pressures on both sides that may reduce the intransigence of both sides and strengthen moderate elements.

The junta, which is backed by the military and the police, survives on financial help from the United States, which pays military and civil service payrolls. The United States also provides free food for the 808,000 unemployed in the junta zone.

As for the rebels, they are pocketed in a corner of this capital. They are safe in the

peace force, and they have food, fuel, and armament for a long siege. But it is not a self-sustaining economic situation, and both the powerplant and the waterworks are under OAS control.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, before the week is over I shall speak at greater length in regard to the very unsound policy the United States has followed in the Dominican Republic, but for tonight I have inserted the Eder article, and I also ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the Record an editorial from this morning's New York Times entitled "While Santo Domingo Sleeps."

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

WHILE SANTO DOMINGO SLEEPS

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee has chosen a proper subject and proper timing in deciding to review United States actions in the Dominican Republic. It has been clear almost from the beginning that Washington's policy was at least dubious if not gravely in error. The controversy is not over sending troops to protect and evacuate Americans, but over the role the United States played and is still playing in Dominican internal politics.

In the beginning, Senators were faced with a crisis they knew nothing about. They had no choice but to go along with President Johnson. Now that the situation in the Dominican Republic is in a state of paralysis, the Senate can investigate without fear that it may be obstructing a solution.

In Santo Domingo itself, the Organization of American States now has the task of picking up the pieces. Its Inter-American Force is keeping order; it is trying to find a political solution; it is handling the government's finances, feeding the public, investigating charges of torture, and even running a newspaper and radio station.

This unaccustomed role for the OAS is an important but confusing development in hemispheric affairs. There is no possibility of gauging whether the Dominican experiment will prove unique or whether it has set a precedent that will be followed in future crises. One problem is that some of the most important members—Mexico, Chile and Peru, for instance—do not favor the OAS role. Another is that many Latin Americans feel the OAS was called in belatedly to get the United States out of its self-induced predicament. A deep-seated objection to any outside interference in the internal affairs of a Latin nation is a third source of disquiet.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee, through its inquiry, may help establish some useful guidelines for relationships between the United States and the OAS so that the likelihood of unilateral American military action in future crises will be reduced. The security of the Inter-American system will be enhanced by such guidelines.

NEWS CURB ON VIETNAM BATTLE

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I now ask unanimous consent that there be inserted in the Record an article from this morning's Washington Post, a similar article having appeared in a good many other newspapers today, entitled "News Curb Imposed on Vietnam Battle—Commitment of GI's Weighed as Fight Rages at Dong Xoai."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

VIETNAM BATTLE—COMMITMENT OF GI'S WEIGHED AS FIGHT RAGES AT DONG XOAI

(By Jack Folsie)

SAIGON, June 13.—The American Embassy and U.S. military commanders sought to blackout all news of the renewed battle of Dong Xoai today, and asked correspondents not to report on American troop movements.

It was apparent that a major Vietcong threat remained at Dong Xoai, 60 miles north of Saigon—and that commitment of U.S. troops to the battle was being considered seriously.

[American paratroopers were flown to an airbase at Phuoc Vinh, 30 miles south of Dong Xoai, for offensive action against the Vietcong. United Press International reported.]

[Units of the 173d Airborne Brigade were removed from their defensive positions at the Bien Hoa airbase near Saigon and were reported to be digging in at Phuoc Vinh.]

[U.S. Ambassador Maxwell D. Taylor, returned to Saigon early Monday from a visit to Washington where he conferred with President Johnson and other officials on the course of the war, the Associated Press reported.]

Gen. William C. Westmoreland, the U.S. military commander, and Deputy Ambassador U. Alexis Johnson conferred about the battle tonight.

The Vietcong forces, after inflicting losses of 600 dead or missing on 2 government battalions, withdrew Friday. But they came smashing back Saturday, attacking part of a South Vietnamese airborne battalion in bivouac at a rubber plantation 2 miles north of Dong Xoai.

The fate of that paratrooper outfit was being withheld by American military spokesmen, other than to confirm that the situation became so critical that the unit's three American advisers were flown out by helicopter.

A spokesman said that the American command still had no estimate of the Vietnamese losses. However, he was able to report that American pilots had estimated Vietcong losses from air strikes alone at 250 dead.

Eight Navy Skyhawk jets raked the Vietcong assembly area today 6 miles west of Dong Xoai with cannon fire, rockets, bombs, and possibly napalm. An observation pilot estimated the dead at 250, reportedly counted as he circled low over the target area.

Losses, on both sides, total at least 1,500 dead since Thursday, witnesses reported.

In the mopping-up action since the Vietcong abandoned the town Friday, several more bodies of U.S. personnel have been recovered. It was announced that at least 7 Americans were killed, 15 were wounded, and 11 are still missing.

Noncombat accidents swelled the U.S. casualty toll Saturday and today. Three American marines died in the explosion of a truck near Danang in the northeastern sector, and 18 were wounded in the same blast. Details were lacking.

Four American helicopter crewmen died when their craft crashed in a rainstorm late Saturday 30 miles east of Saigon.

Casualties suffered by Vietnamese paratroopers mauled in the renewed Vietcong attack near Dong Xoai were heavy, and only a score or so of the 500-plus men in the unit have straggled to their base in the town.

Saturday's attack was made by a reported force of 500 Vietcong, the spokesman said. He described the fighting as "heavy," and said American fighter-bomber aircraft were diverted from other missions to enter the fray.

The spokesman said an F-100 American jet was shot down by ground fire. Though the pilot was initially reported dead, he parachuted into a wooded area.

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CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — APPENDIX

you will be acquiring new insights and new knowledge on matters not yet known to man. It is for that reason that I, for one, have been pleased with the changes instituted in the Naval Academy over the last several years which have been designed to make you capable of acquiring the vast knowledge yet to come to you.

The academicians that the Navy has successfully assembled here have, I am confident, accomplished this objective well. This class has had another great advantage. It has served under the inspirational leadership of two remarkable Superintendents, Adm. Charlie Kirkpatrick and Adm. Charlie Minster. They and the executive team they have assembled here set a leadership example that will serve you well. Nothing I have discussed of the exciting events of the future gives any intimation to me that the role of leadership will lessen. As a matter of fact, the problems and skills of leadership during your careers will be more important than ever. You will have to make time during your busy and technically oriented lives to come to know and understand and lead those with whom you associate and whom you will command. The great work that has been done here, and the examples set, have prepared you well. I wish you Godspeed and good luck.

Installation of Dr. Carl W. Folkemer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 14, 1965

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, on Pentecost Sunday, Christ Lutheran Church in my district in Baltimore, had the pleasure of installing one of its sons as its pastor. Up until the time he began his theological training at Gettysburg College, he was a faithful member of Christ Church, and since his ordination, has served two congregations in the Baltimore-Washington area.

On that occasion Mayor Theodore R. McKeldin of Baltimore delivered an address of welcome to Dr. Folkemer, which I would like to insert in the Appendix of the Record, because of its inspirational nature:

AN ADDRESS OF WELCOME TO DR. CARL W. FOLKEMER, PASTOR

It is a pleasure of an unusual kind to welcome Dr. Folkemer to the pastorate of Christ Lutheran Church, for it is actually a return to his childhood home.

As a small boy, Carl W. Folkemer attended Sunday school in this church, and as a youth he worshipped here with his parents. But as he attained young manhood the path of duty led him away from Baltimore, first to Gettysburg College, and when he had completed his secular education there, to Lutheran Seminary, from which he was ordained in 1940.

But the lure of the Chesapeake country was strong, and I like to believe that it played some part in bringing him to Luther Place Memorial Church in Washington, where he served 2 years as assistant pastor.

Then he assumed his first full charge, and where was it? At St. John's in Linthicum Heights, where his pastorate extended to the extraordinary length of 23 years—ample evidence of the affection that grew up between pastor and flock.

Now he has come full circle, back to his first spiritual home, but no longer the small

Sunday school pupil, no longer the youth looking hopefully, if uncertainly, at the great world outside. We welcome today the distinguished scholar and theologian, Carl W. Folkemer, bachelor of theology, master of theology, doctor of divinity, recognized authority on the "Ninety-five Theses," and one of the intellectual ornaments of American Lutheranism.

Do you wonder that I called this an unusual pleasure?

As the representative, not of Lutherans alone but of the whole city, I would find it a pleasure to draw attention to distinction conferred upon any member of the Baltimore clergy, regardless of his origin, or of the rite by which he worships. But it so happens that I, too, am a Baltimore boy, so I find it a double pleasure and also a matter of pride to hail this man of the cloth who is not only a citizen, but also a product of Baltimore.

Perhaps some of the more austere brethren may accuse me of un-Christian pride, and they may be right, at that; but I am persuaded that it is not wrong, it is entirely right, to hope that the young in this congregation, aspiring youth as well as Sunday school children, will mark this occasion and take it to heart. For it was here that the man we honor today learned to fear God and do his duty; and because, when he went out into the great world beyond these walls, he never forgot that lesson, as the years gathered upon him, so did honors that now are reflected upon the place that bred him.

What he did, others can do. Of course, not everyone can become a great classical scholar, or follow the subtle thinking of the famous doctors of theology. But everyone of us can fear God and do his duty. That is not a matter of brilliant talent. It is a matter of faith and courage.

Yet, the man with the character and the will to apply in the outside world what he has been taught within these walls, cannot fail to gather honor with his years. It may not be intellectual, political, or military honor; that depends upon circumstances often beyond our control. But whatever the description of his honor, it will be real; for it is written: "The hoary head is a crown of glory, if it be found in the way of righteousness."

So as representative of the city beyond this church, and beyond the Lutheran communion, I take pleasure in welcoming Dr. Folkemer to this charge; but as a native son I take more than pleasure, I take delight and pride in welcoming him.

"Let us now praise famous men," said the prophet known as Ecclesiasticus, and I happily accept the invitation for one who belongs to that category; for

"The Lord hath wrought great glory by them * * *

Men renowned for their power,
Giving counsel by their understanding * * *
Leaders of the people by their counsels,
And by their knowledge of learning meet for the people.

Wise and eloquent in their instructions:
All these were honored in their generations,
And were the glory of their times.

Others who participated in the installation were the Reverend Augustus Hackman, D.D., synodical representative and dean of Baltimore West District, and pastor of Second Lutheran Church in Baltimore; the Reverend Roy L. Sloop, visitation pastor of Second Lutheran Church in Baltimore; and the Reverend Howard O. Walker, pastor of St. Peter's Lutheran Church in York, Pa. Arrangements were made by the members of the pulpit committee: Mr. Louis F. Huber, chairman, Mr. Henry G. Erck, Mr. William J. Frank, Mr. Milton C. Smith, and

Mr. H. Herbert Wanner, Jr.; and the church council officers: Mr. H. Herbert Wanner, Jr., vice president; Mr. Henry G. Erck, treasurer; Mr. Milton C. Smith, secretary; and Mr. J. Charles Strott, financial secretary.

Dr. Folkemer was fortunate in having present on that occasion, his mother, Mrs. Paul I. Folkemer.

For Dr. Folkemer and the members of Christ Lutheran Church, I pray for a long and blessed ministry.

"The States of the Union—Shape Up or Ship Out"—Chapter IV

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ROBERT F. ELLSWORTH

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 8, 1965

Mr. ELLSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, this is the last of four installments of the brilliant series on the crisis of responsibility in Federal-State relations written for the Kansas City Star by the Star's Kansas correspondent, Ray Morgan. This final chapter points the way for responsible government at all levels, under the leadership of freemen who care, to preserve our constitutional concept. I am delighted to be able to bring this entire series to the attention of the Congress and of the leadership of the Nation:

"THE STATES OF THE UNION—SHAPE UP OR SHIP OUT"—CHAPTER IV
(By Ray Morgan)

WASHINGTON.—The quiet crisis has replaced the rattling rifle fire and booming mortars of Antietam and Shiloh of 100 years ago in the effort to preserve and strengthen the Federal Union, but the issues are still as clear and vibrant.

Out of the bright minds of such men as Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, George Washington, and Alexander Hamilton came the concept of a union of sovereign States willing to the National Government the rights to protect certain universal freedoms and provide certain national services of mutual need.

Ever since, freemen have debated in taverns, on the floors of Congress, and in political conventions the meanings of this concept, the roles of the State and local governments on one hand and the Federal Government on the other.

MOVE TO CENTRISM

After the bloody Civil War of 1861 to 1865 was fought on this issue, the pendulum of government began to swing toward a stronger and stronger National Government as the States and local governments, under the union concept, began to abdicate more and more responsibility.

Now, however, there is growing concern here and across the Nation by the Members of Congress, President Lyndon Johnson and organizations of other units of government, that there is a danger that the State and local governments may wither as partners and die from inactivity.

No one wants to talk about this crisis as one of State rights, because as one Member of Congress said recently in the National Capitol building, "It is unfortunate that the term has become virtually synonymous in

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recent years with the building of political prisons for Negroes."

Instead it is a genuine awareness by Senators and Representatives who owe their existence to the voters in their respective States; President Johnson; Dwight D. Eisenhower and others that the concept of government must be changed from one of isolated layers into one of cooperative partners.

TASK FOR HUMPHREY

President Johnson has begun to talk about the partnership in terms of "creative federalism." Vice President HUBERT HUMPHREY, who knows the problems both from his role as a U.S. Senator and as a former mayor of Minneapolis, has been named to work with cities and counties.

One Federal official said in discussions this week: "We've got to stop thinking about our Federal system as a layer cake with each layer separated in its own compartment, but as a marble cake with the layers intertwined in one equal unit."

The concern of the Congress for the future of Federal, State, and local government relations is shown in the new series of hearings being conducted by the House and Senate intergovernmental relations subcommittees, headed by Senator EDMUND MUSKIE, Democrat, of Maine, and Representative L. H. FOUNTAIN, Democrat, of North Carolina.

Dr. Walter Heller, former Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisors under Johnson and the late John F. Kennedy, has suggested that Federal taxing resources utilized to raise funds for State and local governments.

ANDERSON HAS PLAN

John Anderson, Jr., former Governor of Kansas, told the subcommittees last week that he thought Congress should explore such a concept. He said his experience had indicated States were reluctant to enter certain areas only because of a lack of funds.

William G. Coleman, executive director of the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations the last 5 years, has become one of the most articulate spokesmen on the roles of the three levels of Government.

The commission has served to bring the issue into focus, with its membership of three U.S. Senators, three U.S. House Members, three from the Federal executive branch, four Governors, three State legislators, three county officials, four mayors, and three public members.

An example of the renewed concern of the States for a partnership role is indicated by the current effort to establish a New England interstate planning commission to coordinate planning regarding the physical, economic, and social resources of the New England States.

BILLS MUST COINCIDE

This commission would undertake pertinent studies and make practical recommendations for achieving these goals. Consistent legislation in the six States involved is naturally necessary, and a bill has been drafted which the six Governors have approved. The bill was developed out of the deliberation and cooperation of three New England organizations and the Council of States Governments.

County governments are receiving renewed interest because of their role and new demands are being made for their efficient operation. This stems from the fact that even in the largest cities the county has responsibility for many of the most important functions, such as welfare, care of the aged, mental health, juvenile matters, courts and penal administration.

The trend to the suburbs has brought the urban county face to face with becoming a regional city providing a host of municipal services once the sole responsibility of cities.

Out of all these discussions, both from the standpoint of the State and local government officials who come here and from Fed-

eral officials administering the programs, these seem to be basic facts:

Federal grants-in-aid must continue to be used to encourage the State and local governments to overhaul their machinery and undertake reforms that will make them more effective tools in the Federal partnership of government.

State governments must continue the processes now underway to revamp their constitutions to bring them into the modern era of transportation and communications, give more power to city and county governments, cooperate in regional projects, and provide regional planning among themselves.

State and local governments must be given a greater voice in determining domestic policies through congressional action to require that Federal programs be administered by intergovernmental boards which include them, in the fashion of the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Regulations.

County governments must reorient themselves as government units of the future by replacing sole authorities of boards of judges or commissioners with an administrative executive such as mayors in city governments and by becoming active, vibrant coordinated area units.

The time has come for an overall approach to the problem of government financing with a goal of finding the most efficient way of channeling the share of gross national product needed to finance Federal, State, and local administration.

SPUR FOR ACTION

There is a growing awareness at all levels of enlightened leadership that a government of freemen is only the vehicle for doing cooperatively what they cannot do for themselves individually. This leadership is attempting to galvanize the laggards into a new preservation of our constitutional concept.

Perhaps the best summation lies in the story of a visit, by the great Daniel Webster, home to one of his New England towns. As he walked along the street, a woman stopped him on the sidewalk and asked:

"How goes it with the Union, Mr. Webster?"

"It goes well with the Union, madam," Webster is reported to have replied. "It will as long as freemen care."

The Total Dedication of Pete Akers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 14, 1965

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, the editor of the Chicago Sun-Times, Milburn P. Akers, has just retired. His journalistic seriousness and concern for city and State government have left a definite imprint on the great newspaper he served. He is a familiar face in my hometown of Peoria, having worked on the newspaper that preceded the Peoria Journal Star.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to include in the Record the following editorial from the Peoria Journal Star which appeared on June 11, 1965. It gives a very good synopsis of the hard work and the many contributions of Pete Akers:

THE TOTAL DEDICATION OF PETE AKERS

"Lives of great men all remind us
We can make our lives sublime
And, departing, leave behind us
Footprints on the sands of time."

Those lines by Longfellow came to mind when we read this week of the retirement of Milburn P. Akers, editor of the Chicago Sun-Times.

Pete Akers, who is widely known in the Peoria area because of his many talks here and because he once worked for the Peoria Transcript, left behind some footprints worth noting.

"Total dedication" were to be read in the sands of time wherever Akers traveled.

He was totally dedicated to making the Chicago Sun-Times a great newspaper, and because of that single-minded determination, we believe, he succeeded in his task.

He rose to editor of that newspaper because of total dedication to whatever job lay before him. He wanted to do that job as well as he possibly could, no matter the obstacle, no matter lack of recognition. He was completely devoted to doing the best he could in the job he was in.

Thus he rose from reporter on a number of newspapers, including the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, and the Peoria Transcript, to managing editor, executive editor, and finally editor of the Chicago Sun-Times.

Akers, whose 42-year career included serving as correspondent for the Associated Press in Springfield, Chicago, and Washington, had (and still has)—his column still runs once a week—a number of talents. Most of all, he is keenly perceptive of what government is doing and what it should be doing.

But what carried this son of a Methodist minister to his high journalistic honors, we believe, was his total dedication to his work. His was no halfhearted interest in getting the job done. His attitude was never "any old way will do." He wanted nothing but the finest job that could be done.

This was the philosophy which enabled him to turn the Sun-Times from tabloid sensationalism into a serious, yet hard-hitting newspaper. Talent alone couldn't accomplish this minor journalistic miracle. It took complete devotion and single mindedness.

The total dedication of Pete Akers when turned on the affairs of city and State was a great force in effecting improvement in government.

Akers will continue to give total dedication, we are sure, in his new post on the Illinois Board of Higher Education.

Anyone looking for a clue to success can surely find it in the footprints on the sands of time left by Pete Akers. We wish him well and are grateful for his illustrating so well that the key to life is total dedication to your work.

STAT

Castro's Communist Hand in Dominican Revolt Documented

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 14, 1965

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, an article in the Sunday Washington Star of June 13, over the byline of Jeremiah O'Leary, details the Communist infiltration in the Dominican Republic and the part Castro-trained groups played in the revolt.

Mr. O'Leary's article is based on an official U.S. paper compiled by U.S. intelligence sources expert in Communist activities. The paper overwhelmingly supports our action in sending marines into

the Dominican Republic. It also substantiates my long-held contention that Castro poses a serious threat to the sovereignty of other Latin American nations.

In my May newsletter, I said the following:

Castro's efforts to subvert other governments in this hemisphere were dramatically illustrated in the Dominican Republic and I predict that the festering troubles now besetting that Caribbean nation will erupt in much the same form in other parts of Latin America unless this country becomes determined to treat the disease as well as the symptoms.

The disease is Communist Cuba where training in infiltration and subversion has become that island nation's major export. Thousands of Communists from throughout Latin America have been receiving schooling in subversive tactics in Cuba's training schools for many years now. After graduating, these trainees return to their own countries where they infiltrate labor unions, universities, and other groups in which they can stir up discontent and egg on revolutions.

It is essential that short-of-war action be taken against the cancer in our hemisphere—Communist Cuba. There are numerous weapons available including a meaningful trade ban, the recognition of a non-Communist Cuban government-in-exile so that the refugees, with the encouragement of the United States, can win back their own freedom, and stopping the flow of Communist trainees and arms between Cuba and other Latin American nations, as examples.

In light of the documentation by U.S. intelligence sources of Castro's part in the Dominican Republic revolt, I am hopeful the administration will adopt meaningful measures to weaken Castro's hold on Cuba and his export of Communist and thereby prevent further Communist revolts in this hemisphere.

Following is the above-referred-to article by Mr. O'Leary which appeared in the Star, June 13, 1965:

U.S. DOCUMENTS REVEAL ATTEMPT TO SEIZE REVOLT—THREE SEPARATE GROUPS WORKED TOGETHER IN DOMINICAN CRISIS

(By Jeremiah O'Leary)

The organized effort by three Communist Parties to capture the revolt in the Dominican Republic and seize power in that country has been documented in an official U.S. paper compiled by intelligence sources expert in Communist activities.

The report, chronologically and in narrative form, describes the day-by-day activities in Santo Domingo between April 24 and May 5 of 77 known Communists. Many of the 77 were previously identified as participants in the revolt by U.S. Government sources on May 6, but the new document gives intimate details of their participation before and after the American intervention.

The document, obtained last night, is the first disclosure of details of the Communist participation in the revolt from U.S. sources since a list of 58 leftists was disclosed.

At least 45 of the extremists had been deported from the Dominican Republic in May 1964, and most of them received guerrilla warfare training in Cuba before they started filtering back into the Dominican Republic last October, the document disclosed. Cuba's principal agency for promoting revolutionary activities in Latin America, the General Directorate of Intelligence (DGI), trained many of the Dominican rebel leaders, the document said.

THREE RED PARTIES LISTED

DGI has for some time provided financial support to two of the three Dominican Com-

munist parties: the 14th of June Political Group (APGJ) and the Dominican Popular Movement (MPD). The APGJ party, according to U.S. sources, has between 2,000 and 5,000 members and has been Communist-run and pro-Castro since early 1963. MPD, which follows the Peking line, has about 500 members. The other Dominican Communist group, which cooperated in the rebellion, is the Dominican Popular Socialist Party (PSPD) with between 300 to 1,000 members who follow the Moscow line.

The U.S. document said the parties acted in harmony in the current rebellion.

It said the largest department in the DGI is the one responsible for directing Latin American guerrilla warfare activities. Identified as the DGI officer who handles revolutionary operations for the Dominican Republic is Roberto Santisteban Casanova, who was reported by the United States for engaging in espionage in 1962 while serving with the Cuban delegation to the United Nations.

The 26-page document is virtually a "white paper" on the Dominican revolt and reflects the official U.S. version of what transpired there. The following is a day-by-day account of Communist activities in the Dominican revolt as compiled by U.S. intelligence sources from April 24 to May 5:

APRIL 24

Elements of the Dominican Army, led by disaffected middle-grade and junior officers, revolted against the government of Donald Reid Cabral. They seized control of the 27th of February military camp, making prisoners of the army chief of staff and his deputy.

A group of civilians seized two radio stations in Santo Domingo and announced that Reid had been overthrown. The radio stations were retaken later in the day by Reid forces, but just before they were forced off the air the rebels called on the civilian population to join the anti-Reid movement and to go into the streets to support the rebellion.

Communist leaders of all three parties issued orders to their members to incite the civilian crowds gathering in the streets, and to stage rallies and demonstrations. The Communists began organizing their forces and assigning members to various functions throughout the city.

Among those Communists active in the first hours of revolt were: Narciso Isa Conde, of the PSPD, already armed with a sub-machinegun; Diomedes Mercedes Batista (PSPD), who was relaying instructions to party members to stand up for further orders; and Amin Abel Hasbun, APCJ member, engaged in organizing for Communist participation in the revolt, operating from a house on Eivira de Mendez Street.

The situation in Santo Domingo became increasingly confused. Senior officers of the Dominican air force and army informed Reid that they would not support him, and he resigned and went into hiding.

PSPD members carrying weapons gathered at Parque Independencia early in the morning and harangued civilian crowds in support of the revolt. Among these again were Diomedes Mercedes Batista and Narciso Isa Conde. Also active was Aadrubal Dominguez Guerrero, a student leader who received training in Russia in 1962. Throughout the morning, mobile loudspeaker units, including a white Volkswagen station wagon operated by Diomedes Mercedes Batista, patrolled the city urging the population to join the revolt.

In what later proved to be a key element of the revolt, rifles and machineguns seized by rebellious army elements were handed out to the civilian crowds during the day. One of the rebel officers, Capt. Mario Pena Taveras, arranged for distribution of several thousand weapons, including machineguns

and hand grenades. Arms from the camp were loaded on trucks and sent to the downtown area of Santo Domingo where they were passed out to civilians. The following Communist leaders participated with army rebels in handing out arms and in some cases assumed control of the distribution:

Hugo Tolentino Dipp, PSPD leader who received guerrilla training in Cuba; Fidelio Despradel Roque, APCJ leader, trained in Cuba and one of the chief figures in the guerrilla uprising in late 1963; Felix Servio Despradel Mansfield of the PSPD, former resident of the Soviet Union and Cuba and part-time employee of the Peking Communist New China News Agency; Eduardo Houellemont Roques, APCJ, who was in Cuba in the 1963 guerrilla operation.

Other Communists who handed out arms were: Buenaventura Johnson Pimental; Juan Ducordray Mansfield, who once worked on Havana Radio broadcasts to the Dominican Republic, and Gerardo Rafael Esteves Weber, all of the PSPD; and Maximo Bernard Vasquez, of the APCJ, who worked with subversives in the Dominican military in the 1963 guerrilla movement.

Bottles and gasoline from tank trucks at central points in the city were distributed to civilians for making Molotov cocktails, MPD members being particularly active in this work.

A mob of several thousand civilians, armed with clubs and rifles, marched on the National Palace, responding to a call issued over a rebel-held radio station. Among them were armed Communists.

Rebels seized the National Palace and the rebel army officers gathered to assume control. Members of the Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD) arrived with the intention of installing an interim government headed by PRD leader Rafael Molina Urena, pending return of the ousted former President, Juan Bosch. The PRD leaders and rebel army officers who were pro-Bosch prevailed and Molina became provisional President. But military officers who had not joined the rebellion declared they would attack the rebels unless a military junta were installed to prepare for national elections in September.

Many important Communists attended political meetings in the National Palace that day. Among those conferring with Molina was Facundo Gomez, a PSPD member and part owner of the Scarlet Women, a boat used in the attempted landing of Cuban arms in the Dominican Republic in November 1963. Another, Alejandro Lajara Gonzales, an APCJ member who had been active in distributing arms to civilians, was appointed by Molina to be Deputy Director of Investigation (the Security Service).

Communist agitators began inciting the armed mobs to burn, destroy property, and seize additional arms. MPD members were told their party planned to kill any policeman found on the streets. Armed civilians roamed the city, many of them looting stores and private homes.

The offices and plant of the anti-Communist newspaper Prensa Libre were seized by an armed group which included Communists. They prepared immediately to publish propaganda leaflets.

The offices of three anti-Communist political parties, the democratic conservative Union Civica Nacional, the moderate rightwing Partido Liberal Revolucionista, and the moderate center Vanguardia Revolucionaria Dominicana, were broken into and sacked.

During the afternoon, Communist organizers continued to distribute weapons to groups regarded as reliable by the Communist parties, as well as to round up additional manpower for civilian militia units. Weapons depots and distribution points were set up.

Mercedes Batista and other PSPD leaders were observed leading a paramilitary force

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armed with submachineguns, rifles, and grenades.

Other armed Communist groups were observed on streets and in buildings, including one led by Manuel Gonzales Gonzales, Spanish civil war veteran and Cuban intelligence agent.

APRIL 26

Antirebel forces, which had been badly disorganized, now began to move against the rebel-held area of the city under command of Gen. Elias Wessin y Wessin, head of the Armed Forces Training Center. The Dominican Air Force bombed and strafed rebel-held installations. The ferocity of this and subsequent attacks consolidated public resentment and inadvertently presented the rebels with an effective propaganda weapon.

A large quantity of arms and ammunition had, by this time, fallen into the hands of the Communists. Teams of party members were fanning out through the central part of Santo Domingo organizing paramilitary groups.

Agitators from all three Red parties continued to exhort the mobs. They distributed mimeographed propaganda sheet calling on the people to fight and stating, in part, that "the hour has arrived to give arms to the working class . . . to form common units of soldiers and civilians and to organize people's combat units."

Additional Communist leaders were identified among the armed mobs and in the rebel military forces, including Juan Miguel Roman Diaz, of the ACPJ, who participated in the 1963 guerrilla operation, and Jaime Duran Herando, Cuban-trained guerrilla expert.

Gustave Ricart who returned from Cuba in 1963 bringing money to finance MPD activities, was identified as the commander of another rebel stronghold. Five other Communists were in charge of production of a considerable number of Molotov cocktails during the day.

The leaders of the various Communist parties were well equipped with weapons and became an increasingly important element in the rebel forces. Rebel army officers and men, numbering about 1,000 at the outset, were soon greatly outnumbered by armed civilians who, in a state of disorganization, became easy prey for disciplined Communist leadership.

Efforts by the U.S. Embassy toward a cease-fire between the rebels and elements of the Dominican armed forces were unsuccessful. During the day, a large number of American citizens assembled in the Hotel Embajador seeking safety. They requested assistance from the U.S. Embassy in evacuating them from Santo Domingo, which was under bombardment by the Dominican Air Force and was by this time the scene of widespread rifle and artillery fire between the opposing factions. The Embassy, secured from the rebel leaders agreement to cooperate in evacuating Americans from the nearby port of Haina. Armed civilian groups, over which the Molina regime had lost control, paid no attention to this agreement.

APRIL 27

About 100 armed civilians, hearing over the rebel radio that a prominent Dominican newspaperman and broadcaster, well known as anti-Communist, was at the Hotel Embajador (actually he was not there) went to the hotel and fired several hundred shots. April 27 saw the complete breakdown of law and order. Molina, the so-called provisional president, went to the U.S. Embassy in apparent defeat, accompanied by rebel army leaders, Col. Miguel Angel Hernandez Ramirez and Col. Francisco Caamaño Domo. Shortly afterward, Molina abandoned office and took asylum in the Colombian Embassy.

During the day, Lajara Gonzalez of the APCJ arranged for additional arms to be passed to Communists. The offices and

plant of the newspaper Listin Diario was taken over by armed MPD Communists headed by Adrebal Domingues Guerrero and Jose Israel Cuello Hernandez, both carrying automatic weapons.

APRIL 28

The anti-rebel armed forces commanded by General Wessin established a three-man military junta headed by Col. Pedro Martolaza Benoit (air force), Col. Enrique Apolinario Casado Saladin (army) and Capt. Manuel Santana Quesado (navy). Early in the day, the junta seemed to make progress against the rebels but encountered heavier resistance in the afternoon and lost momentum.

The situation in the city was increasingly tense and confused. Junta forces, tired and disorganized, began to crumble. Armed mobs terrorized the city, firing on homes and other buildings, including the United States and other embassies. With collapse of the Molina government, PRD leaders abdicated their positions of leadership fearing their cause lost and their lives in danger. They left the rebel movement in the hands of politically immature army officers who had lost command over armed civilians who now far outnumbered the rebel army forces. Communist leaders, by then in control of the armed mobs, moved quickly into the political leadership vacuum in Santo Domingo.

Late in the afternoon, the junta and police authorities informed the U.S. Embassy they could no longer assure the safety of American lives. U.S. Ambassador W. Tapley Bennett recommended that U.S. Marines be landed to establish a safety perimeter from which Americans and other foreign citizens could be evacuated. By that night, approximately 600 marines were landed and had taken positions around the Hotel Embajador.

APRIL 29

The rebels held the central part of the city and retained the military initiative. An armed mob under Communist MPD leaders began a full-scale assault on the remaining police stronghold, Osama Fortress. The fortress fell next day. Another armed mob sacked the cathedral.

Communists among the university students were active in organizing the crowds.

House-to-house fighting continued. The United States and several other embassies remained under sniper fire. The U.S. Government ordered the landing of an additional 1,100 marines and, during the night of April 29-30, approximately 3,000 troops of the 82d Airborne Division landed at San Isidro. Reinforcements arrived on succeeding days.

Leaders of all three Communist groups met to discuss tactics in the light of new developments. They also met with rebel military officers.

APRIL 30

The official rebel radio broadcast instructions to armed mobs not to fire on U.S. troops but firing continued and a number of casualties were inflicted on U.S. personnel.

Two Communist commando groups were particularly active roaming the city looking for targets. Other Communists working closely with rebel army officers included two who received political and guerrilla training in Cuba in 1963.

MAY 1

A shaky cease-fire was achieved but snipers were active throughout the day, firing on the U.S. Embassy and U.S. troops. This was in keeping with propaganda emanating from the rebel-held area that the real purpose of the cease-fire was to permit junta forces to reassemble and attack from a sanctuary provided by U.S. troops.

About 50 Communists, probably a high command group of all 3 parties, met in one of the Communist strongpoints fortified with machinegun emplacements on the roof.

MAY 2

A shortwave radio transmitter in the home of a Communist broadcast instructions to the civilian mobs to shoot Americans on sight. A large crowd gathered in the Parque Independencia heard a violently anti-American speech from a Communist.

MAY 3-4

Rebel leaders began to consider how to give their movement the form and structure of a legitimate government. Communist leaders discussed among themselves the desirability of their top leaders withdrawing from open participation in the rebel movement in order both to support rebel claims that the movement was free of Communist influence and to afford protection to the principal figures of the Communist parties. Colonel Caamaño Domo, generally regarded as anti-Communist, had said on several occasions during the revolt that he was aware the Communists had been playing an increasingly important role.

MAY 5

It was the consensus at meetings of Communist leaders that, while rank-and-file members of the three parties should fight on, prominent Communists should begin withdrawing from the scene. Some went into hiding, others attempted to leave Santo Domingo for towns to the north. Odds of these was later captured by antirebel forces.

Some of the APCJ and PSPD leaders who left Santo Domingo were under instructions to attempt to organize local party members and sympathizers for eventual guerrilla action in the north. False identity cards were prepared for Communist leaders.

MPD leaders also agreed that the more prominent party figures should go under cover for the time being. They further decided that arms and ammunition in the hands of party members should be hidden for possible use in guerrilla operations. Orders were given to secure as many arms as they could and deliver them to party headquarters.

Offensive in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 14, 1965

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, an editorial in the Peoria Journal Star on June 10, 1965, pointed out that the only question involved in Vietnam dealt with our commitment—not our ability. The recent movement of the free world's military forces should remove any doubts or questions the Communists have had regarding our commitment to defend the Republic of South Vietnam. The editorial that I have referred to follows:

OFFENSIVE IN VIETNAM

The State Department's formal announcement Tuesday that we are going to provide combat support if requests are made by the South Vietnamese command (whoever that is) would hardly seem to be news because that is what we have been doing for the past couple of years.

What the announcement apparently means is that we are readying a large-scale offensive action which will involve regular American Army and Marine units rather than depend upon limited warfare tactics of our Special Forces and the Vietnamese Army which obviously are failing to stem a Communist takeover of South Vietnam.